

Internationalism and the Pacific Area

By WILLIAM MACDONALD

IN connection with the commemoration of the semi-centenary of the University of California, March 18-23, there was held at Berkeley, under the auspices of the University, a Conference on International Relations, particularly with reference to the Pacific. It was a happy thought, on the part of those who planned the celebration, to turn the thought of the University, and, through the University, of the immediate community and the State, in a time of war, to the large international problems of peace which concern the great Pacific area and its American and Asiatic shores, and to make the Conference, not an adjunct to a series of academic functions, but an integral part of the programme. If, as is earnestly to be hoped, the "follow-up" plans which were considered are worked out in the spirit in which the Conference was held, the occasion may well prove to have been one of marked historical significance.

The immediate origin of the Conference is in part to be found in a proposal, approved some time ago by the Board of Regents but for various reasons not yet carried into execution, for the establishment in the University of a professorship of international relations. Beyond this immediate occasion, however, was the conviction, on the part of those who arranged for the Conference, that the time was ripe for a consideration of the whole range of topics, scientific, commercial, educational, and political, which concern the Pacific and the States which border it; and that, in the initiation of such discussion, the University of California might fittingly take the lead.

The peculiar interest of the Pacific Coast of the United States in the international problems of the Pacific area can hardly need demonstration. With all its vital attachment to everything that concerns the Union as a whole, and its equally keen appreciation of the great and serious part which the United States is now playing in European affairs, the Pacific Coast nevertheless looks towards Asia and South America rather than towards Europe. Its harbors are the natural American centres of Asiatic and South American trade. It has close commercial relations with China, Russia, Japan, Australia, and the Philippines. It is vitally interested in the question of Asiatic immigration, as well as in the development of port facilities and trade routes; and in all these matters its interest is shared by Canada and the countries of Central and South America. Every step which Germany takes in the direction of Siberia or India brings the world conflict nearer to the Pacific gateways of the United States. To the thoughtful citizen of California or its neighboring States it is no empty dream to see, in the unfolding of the European struggle, a shifting of fundamental world interest, political and economic, from the North Atlantic and the Mediterranean to the vast Pacific littoral; and every step towards a new internationalism involves a consideration of national and international problems of Pacific development and control whose complicated elements have as yet only begun to be studied, but of whose supreme importance to the future of the United States and of the world the best thought of the Pacific Coast is rapidly becoming convinced.

Of the papers and discussions at the Berkeley Conference, those which dealt with certain scientific problems and oppor-

tunities were, naturally, the most direct and concrete. A great deal remains to be done, for example, in such directions as the charting of the American coast—only 27 per cent. of the coast line of California, 14 per cent. of that of Oregon, and 44 per cent. of that of Washington has yet been surveyed by the United States—and in the study of animal life, ocean currents, and meteorology. The border line of science and international law is crossed when one considers the question of the three-mile limit, a new definition of which would seem to be needed if international conflicts over fishing rights and claims are to be avoided. More than one speaker noted the fact that, in the field of scientific investigation, the opportunity for international coöperation, not only of Governments, but of universities and scholars, is peculiarly great in the Pacific region, not merely because of the vastness of the area and the range of natural resources and incidents, but also because of the control of its shores by a dozen different nations. If, as has been well said, the organization of internationalism will be possible only when there is an international mind, then, surely, no more powerful aid to the attainment of such mind is likely to be found than the coöperation of scholars in undertakings which, from their nature, ignore national boundaries.

Scarcely less significant, however, were the sessions which dealt with problems of agriculture and education. The two subjects, while allotted separate places on the programme of the Conference, turned out to have a good deal in common; for not only is the development of agricultural resources and the improvement of agricultural methods proceeding, through the agricultural colleges, towards a substantial place in the curriculum of the secondary schools, but in both education and agriculture Government coöperation is an increasingly important factor. The searching of heart which the war has stirred up regarding the sufficiency of American educational methods was frequently referred to, as were such international aspects of education as the interchange of students and professors between the Pacific countries and the desirability of common standards and policies among universities and scientific schools. Here, again, as in the scientific sections, the intellectual bases of a lasting internationalism, and the importance of cultivating good feeling and mutual understanding through an extension of personal acquaintance, were generally recognized.

A session devoted to international aspects of labor was noteworthy for a frank declaration by Walter MacArthur, United States Shipping Commissioner at San Francisco and a recognized exponent of union labor sentiment in California, that the one-time opposition of organized labor to the Japanese was no longer of practical importance; and by a plain intimation by J. W. Mullen, editor of the *San Francisco Labor Clarion*, that the methods which were employed to secure the passage of the notorious Alien Land act of 1913 were hardly such as organized labor would care, at the present time, to defend. Most of the speakers at a session on trade and commerce were inclined to take refuge in generalities, perhaps from a feeling that anything which savored of criticism of Government policy would be inappropriate in a time of war; but they were nevertheless at one in insisting that the development of trade with the Orient

involved not only the improvement of port facilities, the encouragement of shipping, and the removal of obstacles to the employment of American capital abroad, but also an American foreign policy which would establish international confidence in every profession of our good intentions.

War conditions interfered somewhat, as was to be expected, with the representation of foreign countries at the Conference; but representatives were in attendance from China, Japan, and Canada, as well as from British Columbia, Hawaii, and the Pacific Coast States. The representatives of Japan were prominent in most of the discussions; but while the Japanese points of view were, perhaps, somewhat overemphasized on that account, the sensible expressions of opinion, and the friendly cordiality which was voiced, were favorably remarked. If the speakers spoke "by the card"—and two of them, Prof. Masaharu Anesaki, of the Imperial University of Japan, and J. G. Kasai, head of the Pacific Press Bureau, must be regarded as, unofficially, spokesmen of Japanese public opinion—the United States need anticipate nothing less than friendly coöperation from Japan, whether in the treatment of China or of Russia or in the fulfilment of obligations to the Allies.

In an address on journalism and international relations, Oswald Garrison Villard spoke thus:

If these delicate relations of ours with that remarkable country, Japan, across the Pacific, are to be left to the tender mercies of certain broad-hatted pirates of American journalism, to the tender mercies of our jingoism and our defence leagues, whose paid agents are going about the country demanding the largest navy in the world, universal military service, and almost every attribute of European militarism in order to prepare us for a war with Japan, then that war will inevitably come—provided that there is not the general disarmament and sinking of fleets which English labor and the Inter-Allied Labor Conference demand as the chief result of this war.

The applause which greeted these words reflected the spirit of the Berkeley Conference. Meeting in the shadow of war and evidencing again and again its loyalty to President Wilson and to the ideals for which he stands, the Conference nevertheless looked forward to peace, to the union of nations for world welfare, to the organization of joint effort for the enhancement of common interests. No speaker talked of colonies, or "possessions," or "spheres of influence," or exploitation, or trade competition for exclusively American benefit. The presence of large audiences, the serious attention given to everything that was said from the platform, and the frank discussion to be heard in informal groups gathered on the University campus, testified to the wide interest which the Conference aroused. For most participants, at least, the Conference was a practical step towards internationalism as welcome as it was significant.

The tangible outcome of the Conference was the appointment of a small committee, intended to serve as the nucleus of a larger representative organization, to arrange for another conference in 1919, to be held in Hawaii or Japan, preferably the latter. It was a general opinion that, while official connection with Government might well be avoided, coöperation ought by all means to be sought with other organizations interested in the same object. The opinion was further expressed that, if the committee which is to be formed could coöperate with the committee which planned the National Conference on the Foreign Relations of the United States, held at Long Beach in May and June last, the attainment of the objects which each body has had at heart would be doubly assured.

Beeches

By CARL H. GRABO

IN my heart they are always with me, the wraiths of the slain,
Gray, like the sea-fog at twilight, amorphous, persistent,
Flowing shoreward, invading the valleys, sluggish; haunting
the brain
As throbs a bell's resonant clamor, though silent, insistent.
Oh, the dead despairing eyes of them, and the dim faces
pallid with pain!

Always on march are they in my heart, keeping time to my
pulse-beat,
And my soul craves a passionless day's end upon the still
river reaches,
Reed-fringed, shadowing the sunset to the verge where
water and sky meet;
And a hill-crest catching the last light on the gray-gloved
maiden beeches,
Upon the laughing beeches where pause the whispering
wind's feet.

Correspondence

A Plan for Government Service

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Educators are deeply interested in discovering how the country may be best served during the war by college-trained men and women and at the same time may have college graduates ready to serve it in the future. Any plan that involves disturbing more than is necessary the continuity of the supply is harmful. The plan to be adopted for colleges and universities should include: (1) aiding the Government immediately and in the future with resources in students and equipment; (2) preserving the usefulness of colleges in their special fields; (3) protecting as far as possible the highest interests of the college men who return from the war.

It is suggested that the Government ascertain by means of a questionnaire how many men from the junior and senior classes of each college will volunteer to be trained for the specific services, military, naval, and civil, for which the Government states its need for college-trained men. These volunteers are to be exempted from possible draft until after graduation, and are then to receive, on recommendation by the college authorities and after passing the usual physical examination, appointments on full pay with the Government. The Commissioner of Education should (1) collate the material received in reply, and (2) apportion the number of students needed in various fields among the colleges according to their provisions for giving specific training.

The advantages of such a plan are: (1) it is definite, with sufficient allowance for modification; (2) it makes available to the Government now and in the future all specifically trained college men; (3) it offers an opportunity for colleges to serve the Government in the fields in which they are best equipped; (4) it makes it possible for college students to receive the usual certificate of education rather than to abandon college work nearly completed.

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